## JUSTICE AND POLICY.

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# ESSAY

ONTHE

Increasing Growth and Enormities

OF OUR

### GREAT CITIES.

CONTAINING

Reflections on POLICE.

A L S'O,

A new Scheme of Annuities, in order to have the Improvement of IRELAND carried on, and to create a Circulation of Wealth by means of Money and Paper together, upon the Foundation of National Security.

PART II.

#### DUBLIN:

Printed for the AUTHOR, and fold by the Bookfellers.

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Reflections on POLICE.

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JUSTICE AND POLICY.

ESSAY &c.

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#### CHAP. V.

Of the Isle of Man.—It's particular Jurisdiction and Constitution.—The Advantages of baving it cemented with Great-Britain and Ireland.—The Mischiefs of its present seperate State.—Proposals for preventing the general practice of Smuggling, by which the Island with Jersey and Guernsey may become a real addition of Territory to Great-Britain, and the Staple for the Herring Fishery.

Britain and Ireland, the happy æra of which we will suppose is arrived, then may the Isle of Man be recovered; and as the strength and prosperity of his Majesty's kingdoms depend on the proper union of all its parts, this ancient fiel of the house of Lancaster, by a treaty of union, might aptly be re-annexed to the Crown.

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I am very far from proposing to have the lord proprietor forced out of his possession without a consideration and sufficient value for the same; or that the natives of the Island should be deprived of their BIRTHRIGHT, their legal privileges: It would not be decent in a discourse written professedly in behalf of the rights of a kingdom, to offer at reducing those of a lordship, which we are told in the history of the Isle of Man, was formerly a kingdom, having had a race of kings natives of the island, and it still retains the essential marks and infignia of regal power, as making laws, holding courts in the lord's name, the patronage of the bishoprick and coinage of money. Little as the island is, the constitution of it should be preserved. abuse of liberty that I wish to see corrected, but not to have that inestimable blessing extinguished.

But fince it is found that the Isle of Man is growing daily more and more injurious to the crown and nation, self-defence becomes absolutely necessary.

This is a matter which has exercised the thoughts of several well-wishers to government at fundry times, and among other things it has been mentioned, that the parliament should purchase the interest of the proprietor's grant, and dispose of it as the Scotch jurisdictions have been by law: It is inexplicable if that can be done, why it has not? In case it be practicable, the island must be allowed as an equivalent its due representation in the parliamentary affembly, as Scotland and the Isle of Wight has, otherwise with respect to itself, there is no reason to have its condition changed, the Isle of Man having many advantages beyond all the nations round about it; the first of which is unanimity in matters of religion, strictly conformable to the doctrine and discipline

1 2 1

Note, this Chapter was written in the year 1759.

pline of the church of England, the next is the rectitude and goodness of their laws, so wisely formed, and so admirably executed and adapted to their constitution; \* chancery business is ended in twelve or fourteen weeks. Thirdly this little world en-

joys an universal plenty and cheapness.

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Confidering the fituation and connection of the isle, its laws and interest may be cemented into a well compacted and united state with Great Britain and Ireland, and be a real addition of territory thereto; but as it is circumstanced with regard to us, since the commencement of our high duties, it is truly an imperium in imperio; therefore the property of this little France (as it is emphatically denominated by some) should be changed; for it must be confessed that the general practice of smuggling foreign goods upon all our coasts, from the Isle of Man, is an evil which is arrived at the most dangerous height, and that it requires more than an army of revenue officers to suppress it.

This national injury is so great, that it is computed to be at least a million and an half annual loss to the nation, which mischief is in a growing state, and has been so these fifty years, notwithstanding

the increase of revenue officers.

Mr. Postlethwayt in his dissertation on this head, says, that 200l. per week goes out of the town of Whitehaven upon account of smuggling, which is so much practised on the eastern coast of Ireland, as is evident from the very large seizures that are every week, or rather daily made, that there cannot go less than 2000l. a week out of Dublin and the neighbourhood thereof to the isle.

But this is not all the loss that the public sustains by this detestable trade, for the people upon the coasts, by an employment which debauches their

morals,

<sup>\*</sup> See the history of the house of Stanley.

morals, and by the excessive use of spirits, which tend to the destruction of their lives and of their children, instead of being the most useful subjects, as farmers, manufacturers, fishermen and sailors, are a most wicked race of smugglers, a lawless set of idlers, and who may be considered as military corps in the service of France, levying contributions at home upon the fair trader, formidable for their numbers, disciplined in the use of arms, connected in interest with the French, and engaged against that of their own country.—If any set of men are allowed to continue such practices longer, 'tis wonderful!

The writer being a private person, not in trade, is not qualified to go into all this subject, which has so often and so knowingly been laid before the public already, shall mention one instance of the ill effects produced by sinuggling, which by going frequently into Fingal, near Dublin, he has had an opportunity of knowing and of hearing a great deal

about it.

The Fingallians, or those inhabitants on the North side of Dublin upon the coast, are a remarkable hardy race of people, originally English, being the most early colony; they have preserved some of their ancient customs, privileges, dialect and practices in husbandry to this day; but since the restrictions laid upon the trade of Ireland, and the imposition of high duties which our necessities has introduced, these (otherwise) honest and laborious members of the kingdom, are by the injurious trade of smuggling, quite changed in their disposition and way of life; these, instead of strengthening the English interest in Ireland, are contrary in religion and inclination, being in theory and practice, enemies thereos.

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Co Va How great a nusance then is the trade to the life of Man become to a British constitution and government, and what public evil cries louder for

a parliamentary \* cure?

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It is apprehended much the same may be said upon the general practice of smuggling of Guernsey
and Jersey, as of the Isle of Man, which last, from
the writer's situation, became his point of view,
and that by means of these islands, the most dangerous intercourse has been carried on between
France and these kingdoms, particularly from the
southern and western parts of Ireland, by which,
together with the prohibition of the exportation of
live cattle from Ireland, and the neglect of tillage,
the most fertile provinces of Ireland are wasted and
depopulated, and may in some sort be said to be
provinces of France;

First, As the smuggling vessels carry away our Wool for the French manufactures, to the destruction of our own.

Secondly, The French finances are supported with British and Irish wealth by means of smuggling, and our poor starved.

Thirdly,

This cure has been pretended to be made fince the late peace, but how? It is a piece of the rest of the general scheme of corruption and arbitrary power, and by introducing a standing army where it never was, Ireland is loaded with another burthen by a pension for the duke and dutchess, proprietors; the legal privileges of the natives of Man have been wrested from them without any equivalent: Little as the island is, its constitution should have been preserved which had many advantages beyond all the nations about it, particularly the rectitude of their laws so wisely formed and so admirably executed. The innocent Manx people must feel to have those inestimable blessings extinguished, (for as one of our poets has it)

A gnat feels an agony as when A giant dies.

Thirdly, The French army is re-inforced by this channel with recruits.

Fourthly, The French fleets and colonies are supplied with provisions and sailors,

And Lastly, The French ministry is furnished with constant intelligence by this conveyance of their agents and spies.

These are the Fruits of the policy in not uniting Ireland in the year 1708, when the commons of

Ireland addressed the Queen for it.

Things are come to that pass now, that the Isle of Man\*, Jersey and Guernsey, are become the asylum of bankrupts, out-laws, knaves and desperate people, to the disgrace of this nation and detriment of creditors; and what a fatal tendency this has, every

one may judge.

Considering the situation of the Isle of Man, it seems to be a very fit place for establishing a general granary for England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales; or how useful might it be rendered either as a seminary for learning, for military affairs, or for trade: But above all, it is to be observed, that the seas surrounding the Isle of Man, are exceeded by none for the herring and cod sisheries; and as the Manx men are a seafaring people, instead of having such numbers subsisted by smuggling, and their vessels and barges devoted thereto, what a difference would it make in the nation's account if all these were employed in the sisheries, for which their island seems by nature to be fixed for the staple. And, Query,

<sup>\*</sup> The practices of the smugglers and the beggars may be compared, when the latter are driven from the city they retire to the country, when the former are forced from one coast, they go to another.

if our convicts were fent there to be employed in labours depending on these fisheries, it might not turn out better, and the examples of transportation have a more beneficial effect so near home, than sending them to America, scarce ever to know what becomes of them.

It is hoped some of these methods will be used. that this cancer in the breast of Great Britain may

be cured.

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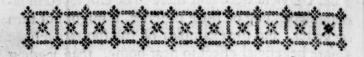
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Before I dismiss this subject I must offer what has occured to me as a means to lessen the practice of running goods; it is well known that the great vent for these is in and about great towns, to which they are conveyed principally by the turnpike roads by night; it is submitted to consideration, as these are the King's high-ways, and as many complaints lie against the management of the turnpikes in general, if the commissioners of Excise were charged with the care of the revenue arising from the tolls of the gates, applicable to the particular purpole, the repair of the roads, and Custom-house officers appointed gate-keepers, whether a great profit and benefit would not arise to the public, many private frauds be prevented, the turnpikes rendered doubly useful, and the creditors to them better fatisfied.

Such a disposition, and having a gate upon all the bye-roads leading from the coafts, with an officer stationed at each, it is apprehended, would break the neck of imuggling.

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### JUSTICE AND POLICY.

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#### C H A P. VI.

Proposal for a Board of Health and an alteration in the mode of taxing, and to abolish Hearth-Money,

S we are not yet arrived to the happiness of having frequent parliaments, there being fo long an interval between fession and fession, by which much damage and many inconveniencies arife, to guard against unlucky circumstances which may fuddenly happen, it feems to be a defirable thing to have a Board of health erected in the city of Dublin, which is one of the largest, though not the cleanest and best regulated city in Europe; this board or fociety to confift of a \* prefident and three vice-presidents, to be chosen every second year, and one hundred members to be chosen of the best characters every three years, of all ranks and profefsions, to be intitled The Society for the reformation of manners, the guardians of the poor, and board of bealth. Such societies were on foot in the year 1700, and there was a great progress made in this kingdom as well as in England against prophaness, sabbath-

<sup>\*</sup> A new president to be chosen every year, and one sourth of the members retire every first of January, and 25 members ballotted for, and vacancies filled up.

bath-breaking, lewdness and drunkeness, as appears by the account of the society for the reformation of manners, formed in the reign of the great KING WILLIAM.

Societies upon the same plan to be erected in all parts of the nation; these societies in their respective districts to have power to remove nusances and correct abuses which injure man's health; and in case the Almighty should think fit to visit this nation with the plague or any contagious distemper, such a board or society will be proper to give directions in a time of calamity, and by their knowledge and prudence, will be best qualified, either when a neighbouring nation is afflicted with a visitation, to prevent the invasion of it here, or to moderate the evil.

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To this fociety should belong to be visiting commissioners of all the hospitals, and as guardians of the poor, to have full powers invested in them to apprehend and commit to labour idle vagrants, &c. to supervise whatever may effect the public health.

A registry to be kept of remarkable facts and events.

To meet regularly one day in the week (or oftener) in a convenient place, and fallaries allowed to individuals upon special occasions and merit.

It is submitted whether an alteration in the mode of taxing is not necessary, and instead of the Hearth-Money-Oppression, to have a stamp duty upon News-Papers, Law Proceedings, &c. for the relief of the poor in general; and an additional duty upon brandy and whisky shops, coffee-houses, taverns, distillers, brew-houses and ale-houses; all these are so much multiplied of late years, that they require exact notice to be taken of them.

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There are, as well as the account could be obtained, about 6000 brandy-shops, ale-houses and whisky-shops in and about Dublin, not including rooms where drink is privately sold; so that the number of people so ill employed in the trade of drink, cannot be less than 50,000 in the district of Dublin, reckoning the pluckers-in, the brewers, and those belonging to them.

This is an evil complained of by Sir William Petty, in whose time there were about 1200 ale-

houses in Dublin.

It is observable that the bulk of the old beggars in town have been servants and tradesmen, also that these classes of people, in consequence of very irregular lives, crowd our hospitals, and as it is manifest that the principal cause of the poverty of journeymen tradesmen, and of the bad set of servants in Ireland, is owing to the extraordinary number and quality of persons selling drink, should not the public houses be limitted in every parish, and the cautions about licences according to law, duly observed, and publicans not permitted to have company drinking after ten at night, not sell any drink within doors on Sunday, in order to prevent and lessen that immorality and prophaness which differences a christian-country.

It is computed that these low ale-houses and whisky shops are trebled within twenty years, and it is observable, that both the women and men who set up these places of destruction are of the vilest fort, running away from place to place, who keep tents and booths, change their signs, and are constantly cheating the revenue and their brewers; places of resort kept by such as these may truly be said to be nurseries of debauchery, diseases, poverty, rioting, thest and murder. It may therefore be at length necessary to give a check to to those

birds

birds of prey, who make such havock of the poor, as well by their usurious practices and extortions, as in vending adulterated and most pernicious liquors, detrimental to the health as well as the morals of those who use them.

For these reasons it is proposed to lay an additional duty upon every licence for each whisky-shop, ale-house, brandy-shop, tent, booth, milliners and music shops, and five pounds per annum upon every tavern, bagnio, inn, coffee-house, brewery and distillery; and also a free benefit night twice a year from the proprietors of play-houses, music-houses and gardens, with the penalties to be enforced for illegal horse-races; all which to be applied for the relief of the poor.

The propriety and necessity is here mentioned alfo of laying a tax on horses and dogs in general, which by consuming so much provision, impoverish the poor. A tax upon race horses, and all horses for pleasure, Sunday-breakers, &c. are to be understood, and upon all fancy dogs and all other

pet animals.

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It is thought that taxes of all these kinds may be laid with great propriety, sounded in policy, justice, and the reason of things, especially with regard to publicans, that those who are the principal cause of bringing men into poverty and diseases, should con-

tribute to bring them out.

Here it cannot but be taken notice of how much it were to be wished, that the brewers of malt liquors in Ireland would mend their hands by brewing good drink, and not contribute so largely to the impoverishment of the kingdom, by causing so considerable a drain of cash to be sent away for porter, thereby obliging the wealthier part of the people to drink foreign liquors, another part to drink burning spirits, destructive to the human species and productive of all forts of enormities

and miseries seen in the objects who fill the jails and hospitals, or stupisfied and diseased with drinking foggy ale and shebeen of bad ingredients, and as bad manusacture.—Query, If the brewers would not be left without excuse if the price of a quart of ale was raised to two-pence halfpenny; a man can always taste the dearness of malt in beer, but not the cheapness of it. Suppose public brew-houses were set up in every country town, and a premium for the best drink; the private brewers would be obliged to brew good drink to preserve their trade.

Some people with more ingenuity than religion, argue upon this principle, that private vices are public benefits; therefore any attempt, fay they, towards a reformation of manners that lessens the king's revenue, is in the end detrimental: This upon examination will be found to be a jesuitical maxim, because government had best be founded in the

virtues and not in the vices of the people,

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### JUSTICE AND POLICY.

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#### C H A P. VII.

A new Scheme of Annuities, in order to have the Improvements of Ireland carried on, and to create a circulation of Wealth by means of Money and Paper together, upon the foundation of National Security.

I N order to have all the improvements of Ireland carried on in feven years, and to create a circulation of wealth, by means of money and paper together, upon the foundation of National fecurity, it is submitted to consideration to have a loan for one million and an half, beside additional taxes requisite for compleating hospitals, work-houses, navigations, &c. for the relief of the poor.

I have before proposed, that a debt upon this kingdom, due among ourselves, might be so advantageously managed, that the country would thrive by running into debt; this paradox will be understood in a certain political sense, it being known by experience, that the benefit of funding, under proper limitations, is very great to a trading nation, by the ready method of transferring stock,

and in the security of lodging money in a bank established with parliamentary fanction.

This scheme best coinciding with peace, let us suppose that happy æra to commence with the

year—and the million and an half subscribed, to

be applied to such services as shall be voted by parliament for the sutherance of the arts of peace.

250,000l. in the years respectively	1774	1775 and 1776
	1762	1763 and 1764
200,000l. paid in the years.	1777	1778 and 1779
	1765	1766 and 1767
And 150,000l, paid in	1780	Total Page
	1768	

The 150,000l. of each 250,000l. for the three first years divided into three classes.

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The 150,000l. of each 200,000l. borrowed in each of the three suceeding years likewise divided into three classes.

And 100,000l. of the 150,000l. for the year 1780, divided into two classes; so that upon the whole, one million sterling be subscribed for upon determinable annuities, and 500,000l. to bear an interest after the rate of four per cent. per annum. Subscribers (or their nominees) to the first class to have an annuity after seven years of eleven pounds five shillings per cent; subscribers to the second class to have an annuity after ten years of twenty-two pounds ten shillings per cent; and the subscribers

fcribers (or nominees) to the third class an annuity after fourteen years of forty-five pounds per cent. None to be allowed to subscribe for more than 1200l. nor for less then 300l. It is to be underflood that every subscriber (or nominee) is concerned in each of the three classes, and intitled to the advantages of the several annuities of 11l. 5s.—22l. 10s.—and 45l. forborn for the terms of seven years, ten years and sourteen years respectively, in

proportion to the fums subscribed for.

I do not trouble the reader with the opperations that this calculation is founded upon, as neither Dr. Halley, Mr. D'Moivre, Mr. Lee and Mr. Simpson, who used these speculations, are agreed about the exactness of their tables; but it is generally computed, that in a period of thirty-five years half the nominees will die off, by which time half a million of the determinable annuities will be cleared off, and in course of some years more, the other half million will be annihilated: There will then remain a debt of half a million on the nation, which will gradually decrease; the interest of which will be 20,000l. for which the additional tax upon luxury and vice, is a fund to pay it off.

I shall go no further in a demonstration of this scheme of annuities, but place two cases before my reader for his judgment, and as arguments for

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First, A man wanting to provide for three children of the ages of 6—7—and 8, by subscribing gool. and making them the nominees for their use Proportionably, by this scheme of annuities forborn for certain terms, each of the nominees will have an income of 78l. 15s. per annum by the time one of them come to the age of twenty, the second to twenty-one, and the other to twenty-two; and before they arrive at those stages, an income rateable respectively.

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Secondly,

Secondly, A widow is left with three children, fuppose of the ages 5—7 and 9, for whose maintenance there is no more than 300l. upon purchasing in this loan, by the time the youngest come to be nineteen, there will be an income of 78l. 15s. per annum among them, provided their lives continue.

The benefit of this scheme on the side of the public, will consist of various advantages, in having a fund to carry on many works of utility and improvement together, without having the whole expence thereof remain a load upon the nation.

If it pleases HEAVEN to grant us a peace by the next \* year, the number of idle hands that will be thrown back upon their country, may be employed upon the public works, such as making roads, repairing fortifications, building work-houses and

hospitals, and prosecuting the fisheries:

All these will require a great number of hands, and as by a general reduction of the army, much diffress and danger is consequent thereon, it is apprehended it would be better to break but a few corps at a time, and not let fo great an augmentation of the military be thrown at large upon the nation on a fudden, but rather some of the young regiments continued upon half pay without carrying arms (I mean the private men upon half pay as well as the officers) and only fuch men as defire it, and those having trades, to be discharged, preferably to those who would willingly remain in the fervice, every thing else being equal. And supposing one third of the officers remained with their regiments, and the corps fet to work with order and discipline, the private men being allowed from four pence to fix pence a day for their labour, by thus reducing an army gradatim, much good may be effected, and the evil and hazard of letting loofe feveral bands of men together, prevented. To e

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To conclude; this scheme of a loan and annuitie directly tends towards strengthening government, and by the nature and execution of it, will create what has long been ardently defired in Ireland, a NATIONAL BANK, an establishment so necessary for the fecurity of private property, and which is found so useful in other countries, that it is not easy to assign a reason why we are not allowed a public bank in Dublin, which has fuffered fo much by the knavery of private bankers, who have been playing tricks from time to time with the current fpecie: Why should the public risk so much with those whose persons are commonly screened by privileges. Imagination suggests that this scheme for raising one million and an half in Ireland, may be applied for raifing a greater fum in Great Britain, which is humbly offered for judgment.

J. P. a freeholder in Ireland, and a ftockholder in England.

( 01) dominated a discovery of the war than of their supposed by to everyone and opinion and the tone of the common to the second of the second a fewcils to ease we adversor a open or of name duscrice the olding out blood yeld come with the state of County longer and the